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252
857
516

A boy helps with the butchering of a pig while a second pig is being singed in the background.

A boy drinks from a bamboo water tube.

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857
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415

A little girl practices weaving.

[p. 327]

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264

Seven little girls share a calabash dish of corn and greens at the noon meal during a day of communal field work.

857
524

Boys spin tops on a banana leaf.

[p. 32 N]

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857
[64]

Padafan sees a toy balloon that I gave some older children. Note the first lesions of yaws on his chest.

He says, "Mo" (give), one of the few words he has mastered.

It is his! He immediately examines the ear of this cat-faced balloon.

He nurses on it to the delight of older children who urge him to continue after his first disappointment.

[p.3297

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436

The Alorese prize mokos above everything else. Here the top of one is being fastened on with rattan strips and pieces of corncob.

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482

His young sister in a carrying shawl, a boy accompanies on the gongs the communal work of building a lineage house.

[p. 30R]

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291
142
516
521

Women privately gossiping over the value of a dowry payment that has just been brought to Atimelang.

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857

Boys furnish a musical accompaniment on gongs and mokos to the communal labor involved in building a lineage house.

[p.32 w]

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855 to replenish the fire and tell his dream to the household. Often a pot is
513 placed on the fire for a midnight snack at this time.

There is also a good deal of movement in the village at night. Men have been out discussing finance; boys have been out courting, and when they return there is inevitably a certain amount of disturbance.
[538] There are also the night dances, which average one every eight days throughout the year, and during the dry season from June through October may average as many as one every five or six nights. Many
[857] children even of five years or less are taken to these dances and they snatch what sleep they can.

Those who can be left at home in someone's care must sleep less soundly because of the coming and going and the sound of singing all night. It is a common sight to see children taking cat naps at all times. Sometimes they lean back between the legs or against the side of a seated parent who is chatting with guests. Often they crawl off under the eaves with small companions and doze for a time, only to wake up and rejoin the adults. Toddlers learn to sleep anytime and anywhere except on the ground, which they already know is taboo. Children barely two or three years old are often seen sleeping quite alone on a verandah during the day. Their rest even more than their food is a matter of small concern and casual attention from adults.

TALKING

868 Satisfactory information on talking is scant. When crying for attention most children of one or two years will intersperse their cries with rhythmic wails that sound as though they were trying to say,
[195] "Mother, mother, alack, alas (*nise, nise, ediye, ediye*)," which is the formalized type of wailing used by adults, especially women, in connection with deaths and catastrophes. These words are used also as general expressions of consternation. In terms of adult psychology, it is interesting that the cry of distress should, by formalization, be directed to the mother.

Another word that is learned very early is the imperative for *give* (*mo*). Children who are just beginning to walk can be seen holding out their hands, usually in the direction of food, and saying "Mo!" over and over again. There is little doubt that children from two to four years are in command of sufficient vocabulary to make their wishes
195 known. Under the stimulus of rage even five-year-olds are quite fluent
868 in their use of imprecations. One little boy whose aunt was trying to
865 make him carry a basket to his mother when he was more interested in playing, turned on her and said, "Evil spirit, evil spirit! May you have

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dysentery; may you have smallpox!" (*Kari berka, kari berka! Asi berka, tepaka berka!*) Quite apart from the fluency this implies, it was a singularly bad bit of cursing, since both are particularly dreaded diseases. To make matters worse his grandfather had just died of dysentery and everyone in the household was afraid of the ghost. [195] §63 §65

My evidence for early speech is confined largely to imprecations during temper tantrums, since in most other respects small children were quite shy in attempting to talk. They were to be seen occasionally addressing a few words quietly to an age-mate or asking an older person for something. There was no direct speech training given by adults. In fact, there was a definite pattern of ridiculing the mistakes of children and teasing them about such errors. Children have to pick up speech through the absorptive processes of hearing older people talk and having instructions addressed to them.

DISCIPLINE

This brings us to another element that enters in early childhood and may continue through the entire life of the less assertive adults, especially women. As soon as a child can toddle about and understand commands, it may be sent on errands and ordered by any adult to give small services. In early childhood such services consist of little more than fetching and carrying things at hand. There is no equivalent of *please* or *thank you* in the Abui language, and the tone of voice in which such services are requested is clearly peremptory. As the anecdote just told in connection with talking indicates, children soon learn to rebel. Demands and modes of escape are more clearly developed in late childhood (see Chapter 5), but pressure and resistance are established early. §57 [865]

Since the Alorese have few sacred objects, commands are not loaded with prohibitions. Not all houses contain an ancestral hearth or other sacred objects that children are supposed to avoid. There is little feeling of sacredness attached to any paraphernalia, and taboo restrictions are few and casually observed, so that no heavy burden of learning along these lines is placed on small children. Already at this stage children are not so much debarred from adult activity as given no role in it. This means that such learning as goes on is largely in terms of restrictive discipline and absorption, rather than permissive discipline or deliberate training. §58 §61

The preceding paragraphs adumbrate the system of shame, ridicule, and teasing that older children and adults use in dealing with their juniors. For instance, it was quite common when children were crying, for mothers to say, "Shame. Don't you see So-and-so is here and sees §61 §65

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the result that the young child can never establish a clear image of pun- 861
ishment for "being bad" or reward for "being good." It is just as likely
as not to be rewarded for the "badness" of excessive crying.

TANTRUMS

From even such a brief description any child psychologist should be 865
able to prognosticate one of the outstanding and striking forms of emo- 153
tional expression in the early childhood of the Atimelanger — the tem-
per tantrum. Rages are so consistent, so widespread, and of such long
duration among young children that they were one of my first and
most striking observations. A common cause of tantrums is desertion —
more specifically the departure of the mother for the fields each morn-
ing.

For instance, one child, a little boy of approximately two years who
was under observation over a period of nine months, had a violent rage
every morning when his mother left. His paroxysms lasted from a few
minutes to as many as twenty. He would begin by pursuing his mother;
then as she outstripped him he would throw himself on the ground, roll
back and forth, and often beat his head on the earth. His mother's re-
action was typical in its inconsistency. On successive days I have noted [861]
her ignore him, return to comfort him, return to slap him, and return
pretending to stay for the day, only to slip away when he had been
diverted.

Very rarely is a reward for being good promised a child, and more 861
rarely still is the promise kept. This means that children do not learn to [155
place confidence in words. This, in turn, should slow down the learn- 868]
ing process by reducing the use of language as a short cut to incentive
and performance. Later in life, when the children are capable of per-
forming real services, they are rewarded more frequently, but by then
the reward is in the nature of an economic transaction and one in
which the child has no bargaining power.

A clear example of the needs of early childhood and the uncertain- 855
ties of the person on whom the child depends for its gratifications, is 865
found in a series of statements taken from Tilapada's autobiography. [857]
The naïve implications of her account of caring for Maliema, a
younger sister, are perhaps more telling than the statements themselves.

"On the way [to the fields] Maliema cried a lot, so I put her down
and slapped her. Then I talked nicely to her, and we went on when she
was quiet. . . . When Maliema was a little older, she would cry to go
to the fields with me. If I was not angry with her, I would take her [857]
along to dig sweet potatoes. I would give her the big ones and keep the

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867 forthcoming. There are several anecdotes about reproaches on this score, and in one instance a mother and a half-grown son came to blows over the matter. It was the crisis around which crystallized a hostility still effective ten years later. An additional result of adult objections to an overfree use of garden crops by children is that it may actually disrupt friendships between age-mates. Mangma's autobiography (page 204) [578] reveals the jealousy and rivalry that can develop between boys when the parents of one of them forbid foraging in their fields.

857 These objections pave the way for the thieving in which play groups of boys frequently indulge. Rilpada's autobiography (page 236) graphically presents illustrative instances. The whole system of feeding [578 155 685] fosters one of the marked intracultural tensions centering on theft and the fear of theft.

During this preadolescent play period boys may get occasional meals as guests. When a man visits a house on financial business, it is customary [855 574] to set a calabash dish of food before him. Any little boys loitering about are invited to join him. They soon learn to attach themselves to men who seem to be setting out on business trips, and in this way they [867] undoubtedly learn through absorptive processes a great deal about the role expected of them as adults. In addition, boys of approximately 883 twelve years often attach themselves to young men whom they serve much in the manner of fags. The autobiographies stress this type of relationship in several instances, indicating that it is a source of education in cultural values, for better or for worse, and that food is one of the important rewards for services rendered. The food quest is therefore a factor contributing to the acquisition of the skills expected of adult males.

857 Still other sources of food are available to boys. They may form 867 work groups (*tatul*) of from three to twelve age-mates who go to each 437 other's fields in turn to cut down or pull out weeds. Usually such labor is done only during the seasons of heavy garden work preceding the rains and about two months after the rains have begun, when weeds are plentiful. These work groups parallel those of adults. At such times, the mother acting as hostess for her child provides a midday meal of boiled corn and beans. Girls are more likely than boys to take part in such group work and to participate earlier in life. Here definitely, hunger may motivate industry in children, and thereby a tendency may be set up that helps in part to explain the presence in the society of men who are enthusiastic gardeners despite the fact that horticulture is recognized as a predominantly female activity.

855 857 During feasts the boys who help with the butchering are given some

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of the less desirable portions of the animal to roast on the spot. Rat hunting, in which a group of boys assist grown men, is another source of food. The rats are often roasted in the fields where they are caught, and the children are given the bellies, entrails, and other less desirable parts. It is noteworthy that there is no institutionalized recognition of a boy's first success in hunting, as there is among many peoples. If a boy is praised at all for his successes, it is only because an indulgent adult happens to take notice of them. In any event, the procuring of the day's food is as precarious and inconsistent as the administering of discipline. Furthermore, the food secured is of the less choice kind, a factor which may, in conjunction with many other attitudes, help to produce in the child a feeling of being undervalued. It is certainly not without significance that in an autobiography like Malelaka's, where he frequently stresses the good treatment he received as a child, good treatment meant being given food. It indicates that feeding is not something a child expects as a matter of course.

There is a slightly different adjustment for girls. Their play period is neither so long nor so free. They are more closely attached to their mothers and have more demands made upon them in terms of their adult role as providers for the family. Weaving baskets, sewing pandanus mats, and making bark cloth are additional skills deliberately taught girls at this time by their mothers. I knew only one woman, an orphan, who did not know how to make baskets. Interestingly enough, many boys also pick up these skills to a minor degree, but without deliberate instruction.

Girls frequently go out to the fields to work with their mothers or with companions. Also, women are responsible for harvesting and preparing food. By the time a little girl is nine or ten years old, she can cook for the ordinary family needs. She therefore has more regular access to food. I know of no instances in which little girls were guilty of pilfering from gardens, although accusations to this effect were sometimes leveled at them. Such charges, on the other hand, gave rise to frequent if minor frictions with boys. This does not mean, of course, that adult women do not steal, but one might expect a higher frequency of thefts by men than by women. Out of twenty-four theft anecdotes twenty-one apply to men. In the autobiographies there are eighteen identifiable cases of theft; sixteen of these were reported by the men.

Although a girl has more regular access to food she does not have the guest privileges of the small boy. She gets no presents during butchering unless an unusually indulgent and thoughtful male kin happens to remember her and give her a bit of meat. The meat at feasts is always

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to eat. They said, "Mother, it smells of feces." She answered, "Then 539
go to the privy to eat." They went to the privy but still smelled feces. When they returned to the center of the house, they still smelled them. Then they saw that feces were mixed with the millet and refused to eat.

The mother said to the youngest son, "Take this food and eat it." Thereupon he demanded of his mother all his adult male regalia [sword, bow, arrows, shields, plumes, and the like, the dialogue concerning which forms the bulk of the story]. When he was fully accoutered, he ran from the house, saying, "My mother cooked millet and feces for me to eat." He ran off toward the sea. His mother wept and followed him, saying, "It would be nice if you returned, my child." But he refused, reproaching her once more with her deed.

On the beach he deloused his mother and she fell asleep during the process. He then went out to the reef and summoned sea spirits to wake his mother with a wave. When the wave nudged his mother awake she pled once more for her son's return. Again he refused, repeating the story of her ill treatment.

As the son began his ascent from the sea to the sky [to become the morning star] he instructed his mother to prepare the cornfields of his brothers and to weed for them. His mother made one more attempt to bring him back by shoving a pole out to him on the reef, but it did not reach him.

PLAY, PRIVILEGE, AND RESPONSIBILITY

Aside from the described differences in relation to food, no sharp 537
distinctions are made in bringing up boys and girls, and there is no formal segregation. Children play a great deal. Girls emphasize food-gathering activities and cooking; boys emphasize hunting. It is noteworthy that the children have many games and toys, some of which are very ingenious—for example, a pressure squirt gun that is fashioned of bamboo.

The children's spectrum in games stands in contrast to that of adults, [524
who play no games at all and whose recreation is confined to dances, 533]
ceremonial gatherings, and, for men, gong beating. I made no exhaustive survey of children's games and toys, but of a casual list of twenty-one items all but two were used by both sexes. The exceptions were [528
one's cradle, which was a girl's game, and wooden toys, which were for 529]
boys.*

This list excludes the games imitating adult activities, which are a large part of play. Here, as among adults, one finds that skills may be

* Compare sex differences in the subject matter of the children's drawings in Chapter 11.

§57 here, as among adults, any tasks that skills may be
[§67] weighted on the side of one sex or the other, but unskillful imitations
are not frowned upon or subjected to ill-natured ridicule. For instance,
I have seen women laughingly play at beating gongs or shooting ar-
[§22] rows, while men will playfully attempt to weave baskets or pound
grain. In the same way little girls will try their hands at top-spinning
and boys at cat's cradle.

The care of infants is a responsibility in which boys and girls, like
men and women, are inclined to share equally. Children of both sexes
may at times resent this task, as reference to the autobiographies will
show. The following notes illustrate nicely the sort of scene that forc-
ing such duties on a child may produce.

§61 Early one morning three little boys about twelve years old were
§57 gaily playing marbles on the dance place when Kolang appeared carry-
ing her three-month-old infant. She approached her son, one of the
three, and tried to strike him with the side of her clenched fist, as she
scolded him for running off without the baby. At first the boy laughed
and dodged. Finally, the mother got close enough for two or three
blows, all rather light, and then she seized his ears and twisted them
until the boy wailed. The mother stood by, still scolding him, but more
gently now, and trying to hang the shawl with the baby in it over his
shoulder. Some women who were waiting to go to the fields with Ko-
lang joined in berating the boy for his unwillingness to care for his
baby brother. Finally the mother picked up a stick and dealt the blub-
bering boy a soft blow. He then capitulated and swung the carrying
shawl over his shoulder. During this episode, his two playmates had
gone on playing marbles, paying no attention to the fuss. As soon as the
women left, however, the three boys abandoned their game and set off
on their daily aimless wandering about the village, the one burdened
with his infant sibling.

§57 Although boys quite patently have fewer duties than do girls, they
have at the same time more privileges. For instance, at one of the
young-corn feasts held in February, boys are the main actors and race
through the village symbolically driving out all the rats for the coming
year, while women and girls stay tightly shut in the houses. During the
communal pig hunt at the end of the dry season, boys may accompany
the men to serve as fags, while women and girls are forbidden to ap-
proach the hunting camp. At all feasts not only do boys help in the
butchering but they are the ones primarily relied upon to play the gongs.
No linkage between privileges and duties is established in childhood.

In their play children actually imitate many adult activities. After a
burial I have seen children playing death feasts for four or five days in

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succession. They beat pieces of wood representing gongs. They organize dances comparable to those of adults, in which they compose verses. This versifying provokes good-natured ridicule among their elders. In their play with bows and arrows boys learn skill in hunting. They even organize mock wars between villages, in which they shoot blunt arrows, throw stones, and hurl obscene insults that most adult men would never use unless they were in an uncontrollable rage. The part boys play in rat hunting, house thatching, and comparable male activities is on a voluntary basis and is usually joyously entered into as long as they are in the mood for it. 357

In most instances, boys are not counted on to render valuable services. Not until they are thirteen or fourteen are they considered old enough to be sent on financial errands. It is a source of considerable pride at this age to be given these assignments, and most boys seem to carry them out willingly enough. However, in one instance that came to my notice this was not the case. Nicolas ordered a half brother to leave early the following morning for a village about a mile away to fetch a reward that had been promised him. When the boy failed to set out the following morning and seemed unwilling to go, Nicolas flew into a rage and began pursuing him with a length of liana about as thick as his wrist. The boy stumbled and fell, whereupon Nicolas stood over him and beat him unmercifully. Although Nicolas' behavior was censured by the men present, none of them made any move to interfere. At last a distant kinswoman tried to drag the boy away from the rain of blows, but she did not try to stop Nicolas himself. Again there is the picture of restrictive discipline, sometimes brutal in quality, but no attempt to train the young through permissive attitudes. 357 353 347 [361]

On the whole, my impression is that children, in their curiosity and eagerness about the life around them, more often than not participate in adult activities. Depending on their effectiveness in a particular situation, they are either utilized or driven off. From the adult's viewpoint, children are welcome when useful, ignored when not, and chased away when nonfunctionally obtrusive. 357 358

Children are held responsible for their misdeeds, however. One dramatic case of this sort is worth repeating in some detail. The hero-victim of the episode was a boy about thirteen who was generally known by his nickname, Red Eyes—a name that is about the equivalent of our "Spitfire." Red Eyes was the ringleader of a play group of boys whose ages ranged from about seven to fifteen years. The tumultuous band had a guest in his household who happened to stroll past the place where the boys were playing. For no determinable reason Red Eyes [461] 358 [672]

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135 persons. Here again, boys, who wear the more highly prized woven
cloth, are more privileged than girls, who receive only bark cloth. Both
sexes between the ages of eight and twelve hope for the gift of their
first shawl. Boys upon request can usually get a man to make them
small bows and wooden-tipped arrows, possessions they begin to covet
when they are only six or seven. Carrying baskets provided by their
mothers are the counterpart for girls. Children of both sexes hope for
the hoodlike pandanus raincapes that add so much to comfort dur-
ing the rainy season, and most mothers see that their children are pro-
vided with them, since their manufacture involves only about two or
three hours' work.

137 All these gifts are small in comparison to the inheritance of fields
139 —when a child is old enough to work" —which usually means between
the years of eight and fourteen. Boys and girls alike inherit fields from
both fathers and mothers. No distinction is made on a sex basis. The
only discrimination is on the basis of industry and aptitude. This inheri-
tance is not so significant as might at first appear. Before the child is
told that a particular field is its own, it has probably already helped its
parents in cultivating the land. After ownership is transferred, simply
by a verbal statement, the field is still worked in collaboration with the
family, and in return the child is expected to work in other fields
the family owns. The crops raised on a child's field are stored in the
loft along with the rest of the year's provisions and are used jointly.
The only advantage accruing to the child is that the parents, if they
feel they can afford it, will take a portion of the child's produce to the
coast to exchange for cloth for his use. In other words, the child's sat-
isfactions from labor are contributing to the larder and perhaps getting
the coveted textile. Here again, however, children are largely at the
mercy of adults, as portions of the autobiographies indicate. That the ad-
vantages are not too patent is shown by the fact that many children
have to be forcibly reminded of the virtues of industry.

143 The unreliability of parents toward their children's property gives
147 an Alorese child early opportunity either to learn the ethics basic to
153 adult property dealings or to develop antagonism not only toward the
parents but toward the whole system they represent. This point will
appear more clearly in the next chapter.

DISCIPLINE

161 In any discussion of child training, kinds of discipline and the per-
sons who may administer them are of paramount importance. Theo-
retically, corporal punishment in Atimelang should be administered

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childhood, is replaced in late childhood to a large extent, but not exclusively, by the words for genitals. On the other hand, it was interesting to note in the exchange of insults accompanying mock warfare between two gangs of boys the point at which adults began to feel that the children were overstepping the bounds of what might be allowed. The boys hurled the following remarks at each other without provoking comment: "Crooked neck," "Yaws buttocks," "Eat feces," "Follow your dead mother," "Soft bellies," "Swollen throats." But two insults that brought angry protest from adults were: "Sleep with your mother; your father can't," and "May you grow hair on your penis."

AGGRESSION

The decrease of obscenity in growing children is paralleled by the decrease in actual aggressions. Boys are told to become more circumspect in their language and to avoid blows. The situation is nicely summed up in a comment on an adolescent fight in which blood had been shed. The narrator finished the story with these words, "We promised not to exchange blows any more and if we fought, to fight only with words." And in order to avoid fines, words too must become more guarded as one grows older and richer. Even in fairly young boys the adult male pattern of avoiding blows begins to take effect. On the whole, I had the impression that there were far fewer physical combats among the play groups of Arimeiang than among comparable groups in our schoolyards. Once when a pair of boys about thirteen and fourteen began actually hitting at each other, my camera caught what my eye failed to catch—namely, the fashion in which all the younger boys drew away from the scene in apparent fright. This, of course, is in distinct contrast to the way children in our society tend to crowd around in a circle when a fight begins.

The number of anecdotes in the autobiographies that deal with violence do not substantiate my impressionistic observations on this point. It is quite possible that adults dwell unduly in fantasy on a period that allowed freer expression of hostility.

It is interesting in this respect that the forfeit for losing games is to receive a specified number of slaps. However, despite this permissible outlet for aggression, I was struck by the casualness with which the slaps were given. Very rarely did I see either boys or girls, after winning a game of marbles or jacks for example, take vigorous advantage of this opportunity. In contrast to this should be noted the verbal aggression in a game of "hide-the-thimble." A piece of blady grass is hidden on the dance place by one player. The finder pounds the grass on a stone,

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possible to give any numerical estimate of this group since their status relationships are so shifting. A man might be willing to assume a satellite relationship to a very rich and powerful kinsman, one in the upper ten per cent for example, but would not play such a role to a kinsman in the middle quartile of any hypothetical distribution curve of wealth.

This satellite role is of course markedly reminiscent of the fagging mentioned for growing boys and seems to be a persistence of the childhood role of being ordered about on small errands and duties. In greater docility, in more physical labor, and in the rendering of services, the satellite males approach the role expected of women. This is purely my interpretation. There was in Atimelang no thought of comparing the less successful men with women.

SKILLS

There are in addition a number of lesser skills, nonfinancial in nature, for which a man may acquire a certain reputation even though they procure him no social rewards. There follows a list of men with such skills, which I was able to obtain only indirectly in the course of extended observations. It is by no means complete but gives a sample of skills respected by the group. Not all the men listed here were in that somewhat vaguely defined satellite category. Those listed who were at the same time obviously men of considerable financial power have been starred.

Lakamobi of Alurkowati: calendarer; making of wooden mortars.
Rilpada of Dikimpe: a seer.
*Malefani of Dikimpe: burying lepers, making leprosy curses; a minor seer.
Riemau of Dikimpe: butchering animals and dividing meat at feasts.
Maieta of Lawatika: making village guardian spirit carvings.
Padamai of Folafeng: carving.
Fanseni Long Hair: carving; knowledge of ceremonial procedure.
*Maliseni: vigor and violence in debate.
Mangma of Karieta: genealogical information; industrious gardener.
Lakamau of Alurkowati: skill with bow and arrow; skill in extracting wax from people's ears.
*Atakalieta of Folafeng: making curses to protect fields from theft.
Nicolas of Folafeng: divination by means of chickens.
Atafani of Atimelang: fencing with clubs.
*Maikalieta of Atimelang: clearing new fields.
Manimale of Alurkowati: suspected poisoner.
Padatimang of Dikimpe: a seer.

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857 It must furthermore be noted that the child is not inducted into economic activities.

155 From all these features we can expect at least two consequences on
[847] the character formation of the individual: an ambivalent conception of the mother and the absence of a sense of responsibility, particularly in connection with obedience. The tantrums to which the children are frequently subject, and which are often ignored by the elders, are the paramount expression of all these attitudes. Occasionally one notes reprisals on the child for disturbing the peace of the elders. Kolanghaliers mentions such an episode, in which her uncle stuffed feces into the mouth of a crying child.

155 As regards sexual discipline, the early conditions of their lives favor
847 a strong attachment to the mother, notwithstanding the many frustrations she causes. Sleeping with the mother and observing parental intercourse would tend to enhance these attitudes. However, the implied discipline in connection with sex is apparently very powerful. This implied discipline does not refer to sexual activity; its inhibiting influ-
595 ence is created by making the object from which gratification is ex-
188 pected into one to be feared. The attachment to the mother must therefore have a unique character. It is a strong attachment but one filled with hatred because she is both a gratifying and a frustrating object. In view of the systematic way in which the mother teases and cheats the child, a very poor basis is laid for strong, tender relations first with the mother and later with women generally. This is borne out by
[842] subsequent facts. The relations between men and women are not good. There is a strong mutual mistrust, and one of the unconscious quests of the male is the constant effort to find the kind, affectionate mother, who can never be found. It is this that may be the basis of the continu-
[188, 837, 182] ous infidelity, the repeated divorces, and the remarriages. The supercilious attitude that the men have toward women may have its origin in this unconscious and deeply repressed hatred of the mother.

853 The attitude toward the father is of a somewhat different character.
185 During childhood the father is not the provider, hence he is not the
595 source of any great expectations. He may frequently be absent, and he plays a sporadic role in the education and rearing of the child. Fathers toward whom no very strong sense of responsibility is expected cannot be idealized. He is presumably engaged in important business, the significance of which is not likely to reach the child until very much later in life, perhaps not until puberty. Hence the paternal imago is likely
155 to have a peculiarly hollow inflation. The sexual role of the father,
595 however, is one with which the child soon becomes acquainted. And

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it is this circumstance, together with the implied discipline connected 153
with sex, that makes possible the development of an Oedipus complex. 593
The social role of the father is appreciated very much later in life, at which time it may be despotic. He can arbitrarily claim any independent possession of the child and use it for his own ends. In marital arrangements the father is the one chiefly to gain by the sexual value of his daughter. We have thus in the father an individual whose rights over the child are strong but who gives the child practically nothing. The father's control over the children is apparently unequally divided between the sexes; a daughter, by whose marriage the father has something to gain, is more likely to remain in his power than a son. Sons, however, must feel some hostility toward him because of the sexual advantages he enjoys. The young man can have sexual relations only at the risk of incurring financial penalties. This factor must reinforce the already divided feelings toward women that the young man has derived from relations with his mother.

An extremely important point in the relationships of parents to 153
children, and one that has a direct bearing on the absence of inflation 841
of parental images, is the almost complete lack of reward systems. According to the general principles of psychology, a child can endure frustrations provided certain compensations are made or certain rewards given, either within a short enough time after the frustration in question or expressly related to it. In Alorese culture we have a frustration-reward balance which is extremely poor, and this can only add to the submerged hostility toward the parent. The role of the sense of shame as a basis for the superego is much less satisfactory than more concrete forms of punishment. It lacks the specificity so necessary for correlation with an act which is disapproved and it furnishes no quantitative evaluation of the degree of disapproval. Frightening the child as a disciplinary measure is perhaps more specific—that is, it permits closer connection between the offense and punishment—than shaming, and in this culture can only have the effect of heightening the already high degree of anxiety and of increasing the amount of aggression.

The importance of all these factors is the specific role that they play in 155
superego formation. The tonicity of the superego is maintained by the capacity to internalize the parental ideal. And this in turn is facilitated by the anticipation of rewards. The absence of reward systems means, therefore, that the internalization of the parental ideal must be defective. 593

As regards the siblings we have a unique situation. Children who 157

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have not much to expect from parents are not likely to have their rivalries among themselves accentuated. In Alorese culture the oldest sibling undoubtedly has the worst time of it; he is constantly being compelled to take on attributes of the maternal role as soon as he is able to do so. Although there is no routine about it he is generally expected to take care of the younger siblings while the mother is tending the gardens. The natural ambivalence of siblings toward each other must therefore be dulled. Such rivalry as does exist is tempered by gratitude and by the fact that they have common enemies and grievances.

The picture that we get, therefore, on the disciplinary side is again one of inconsistency and confusion. Whereas the child is masturbated as a palliative, a circumstance which would tend to accentuate sexual expression as a form of compensation for other frustrations, this activity is nevertheless later tabooed by implication or rendered impossible to translate into action. The situation as a whole favors a considerable amount of sexual repression which is undoubtedly breached in secret before or during puberty. From this, together with the strong motives for distrust and hatred of the mother and other women, we would expect the usual disturbances of potency. Moreover, in view of the fact that there is no reward system and that ingratiation techniques directed toward the father, who is actually in possession of the family power, are ineffectual, we would not expect any channeling of sexual impulses in homosexual directions. The fact is that homosexuality as such is not known either among women or men. The breast retains a high erogenous value both to children and adults. Castration threats are known but not employed exclusively for sexual misbehavior.

A final point is to be noted in connection with the general attitudes toward discipline. Frustration rather than punishment is the rule. This frustration takes on peculiar forms. False promises, lying, and misrepresentation must have consequences in at least two directions. They must lead first to a profound distrust of parents and elders, and secondly, to a lack of self-esteem. The poverty of the ego combined with depressed self-esteem is likely to lead to compensatory grandiosity. An additional factor which reinforces these attitudes is the general impermanence of everything, the constant change of abode that prevents the growth of a sense of familiarity and compels the child always to begin all over again. Perhaps the earliest expression of this anxious and helpless situation in childhood is the tantrum. To be sure, this is a form of assertiveness, but it is neither integrative nor constructive. (See Chart I.)

So far we have outlined the primary integrational units, adumbrating many factors which enter the life cycle later. Obviously, however,

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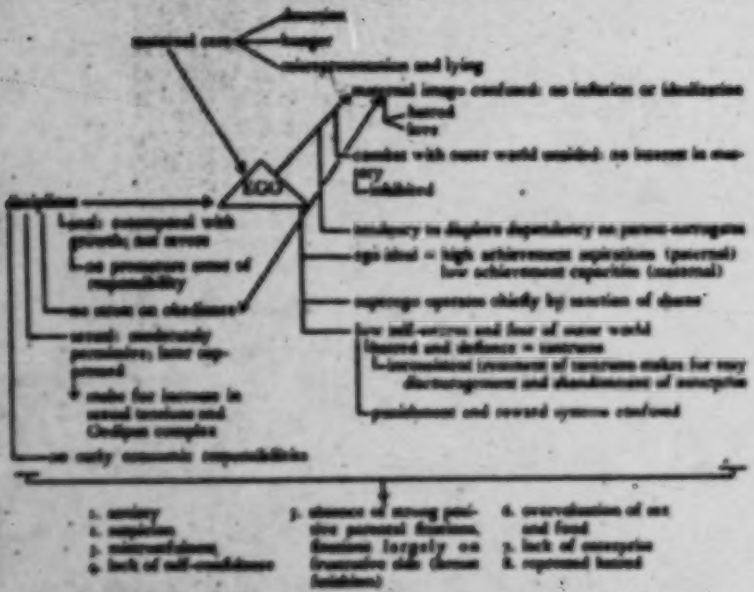
Chart I. Integrative Units of Early Childhood



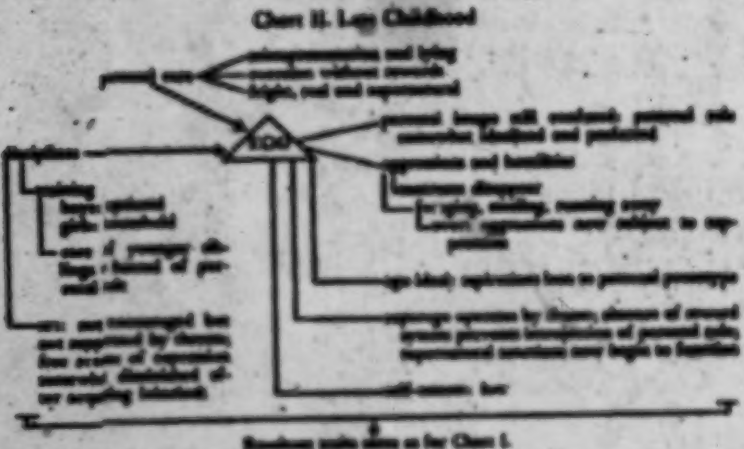
personality is not yet stabilized. We shall now list briefly those factors which seem to us most important for the picture of late childhood given in Chart II.

Late childhood is characterized chiefly by the channelization of aggression. Forging and stealing is really constructive ego development in the boy. It would be an error to regard this purely as an effort to make good the deficiencies in parental care that persist throughout this period. It is also partly an expression of vengeance against the parent and a bit of self-assertion in that it implies, "I really don't need you any more." A general guilt feeling about the deprivation of youngsters exists in the form of a universal fear of being robbed without any strenuous efforts to stop their depredations.

A second feature in late childhood is the fact that children of both sexes are prematurely inducted into the maternal role. The influence of this factor on the care of infants and on the development of sibling relationships has been discussed previously.

A third point is that although no formal training exists for the boy, there is a continuance of coercive measures, a continuance of the practice of fooling, misleading, and lying which only generates more and

Chart II. Late Childhood



Boundaries same as for Chart I.

[53] more diffuse and ends finally in the child's complete inability to believe [55] anyone. This circumstance perhaps more than any other is responsible for the weak libidinal ties and the internal sense of isolation that individuals often have. There are no permissive disciplines at this time, [47] and further new sanctions are invoked in the form of supernatural disapproval. It is at this time that the child also learns that none of its [58] rights in the family are inviolate, that gifts received can be revoked arbitrarily, and that even such gifts as fields, gardens, and pigs are really only nominal.

[54] To offset these circumstances the child, particularly the boy, has a channel of expression, perhaps the most common that the culture recognizes, namely, running away. This offers both a safety valve for the pent-up aggressions and an opportunity to sustain the hope that the child may in one of its other relatives find the kind parent so long sought.

[54] One of the advantages to childhood development is the rather lack- [55] daisical attitude toward sexual practices in children. In this activity they can indulge, surreptitiously to be sure, but without fear of serious punishment. However, it must be noted that sexual activity in children is tolerated rather than permitted or encouraged. The child's pilfering [57] and its opportunities for sexual activities with other children in some measure keep in balance those constellations already formed in early childhood. The activities afford some expression for pent-up hostility, but the situation is very little altered. It is likely that these oppor-

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of shame, which is really an external agent, and the sense of guilt, which depends upon the internalization of the good parental imago, the tonicity of which is maintained by the hope of being reinstated into parental grace. In this latter the young man has had exceedingly poor experience.

One final point must be mentioned in connection with the masculine ego ideal. The dependency upon the woman is all too well known. Hence the playing up of masculinity by exaggerating the importance of male financial activities is largely a way of denying dependency upon the woman.

The induction of the female into adulthood is much easier and is accompanied by fewer necessities for changes in attitude, and by fewer conflicts. Here too we must review the experience of the mother and her resentment of the maternal role, which she is prematurely asked to undertake with the younger siblings. She will not be inclined to give children what she herself did not get. Her wish to abandon herself sexually to the man is filled with internal resistance. Likewise there is resentment at bearing children and caring for them, a fact that leads to two consequences, frequency of abortions and maternal neglect of children. This really completes the cycle. As far as the feminine ego ideal is concerned, the masculine role seems decidedly preferable. It is devoid of the arduous responsibilities and the actual hard labor that go with being a wife and a mother. (See Chart IV.)

Under these conditions it is not difficult to understand why it is that the female so frequently takes the aggressive role sexually. Actually this aggression by the female is largely through default on the part of the male. Secondly, the status of marriage is, notwithstanding its hardships, infinitely more desirable to the woman than would be the state of spinsterhood. If the role of wife is accepted, the woman has some compensations. She can actually dominate the male by threatening the withdrawal of food, and she can exercise a powerful check upon his infidelities by making the financial obligations associated with bride-price infinitely greater. As we have said before, the whole financial arrangement in connection with marriage acts as a powerful check in keeping the tottering structure of relations between the sexes in some kind of balance.

It is difficult to formulate any opinion about the attitude of the woman toward her father, and no consistent pattern emerges of her reactions to her possible importance in his financial schemes. From it she may derive some sense of importance. There is little evidence to prove one way or another the nature of the infantile attachment to the father.

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pig and a fine. Then the girl's family paid me a Kolmale [13-rupiah moko] for the pig I had got from Alomale.

November 26, 1938

When I was still small, I went to live in Dikimpe with Langmani [his father's first cousin]. I stood on the verandah and jumped down. I did it over and over again, shouting, "I am a rooster. I am a rooster."

I was still small and the people of Dikimpe went to make war with Atimelang; then they went to wage war with Alurkowati. The people of Dikimpe shot at Mauglo, and an arrow hit his belt. They dragged him to Dikimpe and danced. They said it was as though they had taken his head. They shouted triumph [*lakabiet*]. [Mangma laughed at this episode.]

I stayed in Dikimpe two years. Then I went to Rustaug, where my father lived. I and my older brother, Malelaka, played at war and threw cornstalks at each other. Once when I was about twelve and Malelaka was about fourteen, I was roasting corn. Malelaka told me to hurry up and take off the pot. I didn't. Malelaka snatched the pot off the fire, set it on my knee, and burned me. I cried. My father scolded Malelaka and said he was bad; when he grew up he would get no wife. Malelaka cried then, "Yeah, yeah, yeah, I am going to Fuimelang to live." He went and fetched some dry grass to burn down the village. I told my father he had better go out and stop him, that my wound was not so bad that he needed to stay with me. So my father went out and stopped him. The next morning my father got a plant called *fehaboti* and put it on my knee. All the skin had come off. After a while my wound got better.

I said to Malelaka, "We aren't friends any more. We are enemies." I threw a burning stick at Malelaka's stomach. Then I ran and climbed a tree. Malelaka took a firebrand and threw it at me. It struck my back. I cried and my father began to chase him. Malelaka ran away and went to live in Karieta. After a while, maybe a year, we both forgot our quarrel and Malelaka came back to live with us. Our parents told us to stop fighting. We went together to cut the field at Rustaug.

[Why did you go to live with Langmani in Dikimpe?] Just because I liked him, because he took good care of me. Langmani had no wife. I was like his child. I followed him around, ran errands for him, getting sirca, water, fire, tobacco, or whatever he sent me for. Whatever he asked I did. I was there alone with him. Langmani said, "My older brother has many children; you come and stay with me."

I had been with Langmani a year when Rilpoda's father, Padakalieta,

The People of Alor

and Lakawati had a wealth-reckoning contest [in play]. They used shields of bamboo and hunted rats. They reckoned rats, and Manikul had a hundred and eighty, while Lakawati had a hundred and ninety. They also killed night birds and civet cats; there were seven of them. They made bamboo spears and threw them. They shouted defiance at each other. We boys from Ruataug took our rat jaws [as adults use pig jaws to record the number slaughtered] and added them to Lakawati's. We reckoned with Lakawati. The older people said, "You have been playing with sacred things, so now you must make a sacrifice to the bamboo spears. Then you must not be cross with each other any more but play together nicely, eat together, and chew areca together. Don't quarrel any more." [Informant smiled broadly at this childish imitation of a serious adult wealth-reckoning contest called *tatab*.]

Five years later I went again to blacken my teeth, this time below Karieta. There were twelve girls and eight men. We boys hunted rats. We were there seven days. The men paid the leader thirteen arrows, and the girls cooked twelve plates of rice rolls. We ate seven of them and five were used to pay the leader.

When I was about sixteen I was crazy and sick for about a month and a half because two kinds of spirits [*kari* and *loku*] were fighting in me. The loku spirit was called Manibiki. One day I went hunting rats and passed by Fuida, where the evil spirit [*kari*] called Fuimnu lived. She must have followed me. That night I went home to Ruataug and was not sick. But the next day I talked only at random [i.e., irresponsibly]. I didn't eat or drink for three days. I kept saying, "Hail to me. Hail to me. I am Manibiki. I go to my father. I go to my father." [Manibiki was the name of the male loku spirit that possessed him and that was fighting in him with the female kari spirit, Fuimnu.] Manimale and Malefani both made loku medicine for me to drink. Father made kari medicine for me to drink, but I did not get better. So after five days they carried me to Alurkowati. This was because Padama of Alurkowati had a loku spirit to whom he sacrificed. They carried me in a scarf like a baby and beat a gong the whole way. I didn't feel sick, but I talked crazily. In Alurkowati Padama rubbed my body and extracted Manibiki, urging him to come out of me to eat [sacrificed] rice and chicken. Padama also pulled a bone [considered a loku arrow] out of my throat. He pulled the crazy words out of my mouth. But again I spoke wildly. Manibiki came back and said [through Mangma's mouth], "I have been extracted, but the evil spirit [*kari*] is still there."

Five different seers worked over me. They built a big fire of eucalyptus and held my eyes over the smoke to chase out the evil spirit

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sleep there. After we had been living together for some time, I put a Fehawa moko in the loft [as a bride-price]. When we slept under it that night, the woman heard the moko make a noise and she said, "Ts!" [an implosive whose meaning was that she was not willing to continue the relationship]. We had lived together for two years. When we changed our minds, Manialurka said I should get back my property; so I went and took away the moko.

[This first sex experience, about which he had been reticent to date, was before he asked for the Rualwati girl, but after he had returned from Awasi; it was also before he was approached by Fungalani of Lakawati.]

I litigated against this woman. I gave the radjah and the kapitan eight chickens to eat. They threatened the woman with jail. She cried, so they let her go. The other man, Fanalurka, was afraid and would not go down to the coast to litigate. She married Fanalurka afterward. She cried and promised to pay when she got back to the village. [Here the hour was over but Mangma could not be stopped.] Kapitan Jacob helped the girl. He was still in school at Kalabahi. Two school children from Aila helped me. [Only school children had learned Malay and could serve as interpreters between natives and government officials.] Jacob wanted to punish me because I had already slept with her. The two Aila boys said it was true that I had slept with her, but I had given a moko, built a house for her and her parents to live in, and started raising pigs and chickens there; so we were husband and wife. They said, "If he has already slept with her many times, then she is his wife." Jacob wanted to have me beaten. He still said I was wrong. One white gentleman there was angry with Jacob for this and boxed his ears. Then he said the woman should marry a coast man, and the coast man would pay me back the moko. The woman cried. She said she wanted to go back to her village and that she would pay when she got there. The official said, "There is a small market to be held here in three days. You must go through the water ordeal at that time to see who is right." [This is improbable, since the government tried to eradicate ordeals as a system of judgment.] Then Jacob's father came to ask what was wrong. Jacob said there was trouble over a woman. All the coast people sided with me. Jacob's father said, "If we stay and the girl is wrong, we shall have to repudiate her, so go tell her and her parents to run away." She and her parents did run away. The next morning people said they had left to fetch food. The water ordeal wasn't held. When the woman returned to Atimelang, she shouted as she came down the slope that it was my fault. But it wasn't.

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159 ones may eat food. Why do you act like this?" Maleiaka cried and his tears fell on mother's hands. Mother was sorry for him and gave him the corn. Maleiaka came back and wanted to take his pig too, but father said he had better leave it, because in Kariera, where he was going, it would get into people's gardens and they would shoot it. So Maleiaka left with his chickens and went to Kariera. Later he sent his wife for his corn.

Once Lanmau [his younger brother] and I fought over an arrow. One of mine disappeared. I accused Lanmau. He had shot birds and lost it. I told him not to deny losing it because Maninsale had seen him go off with it. He denied that he had taken it and told me to die [very insulting]. Then I took a sword and bow and we fought. My bow struck his eye and wounded him. My uncle Fanmale was in the next house and he told of Lanmau's cursing me. I was angry and said if anyone came in the house I would shoot him. No one dared come near the house, not even the older men. After I had wounded Lanmau, I was afraid and ran off to sleep in the fields. I went to stay with Atafani. I was about twelve or thirteen at that time. Atafani told me he had many such arrows, and since I had wounded Lanmau we had better not quarrel any more. He gave me an arrow and in three days I went home.

[What of his sister?] Once I weeded a field. A Makangfokung woman came to Melangkai [Mangmu's father's cousin] and asked who had cleared her field. When she heard who it was she said I had better marry her, but Melangkai said, "Maybe you can marry him, but he is still small and your breasts are already swelling." Then Melangkai told me about this and I said, "I am only small and remember [i.e., think of] only food, not women." This woman saw that I had weeded where she had not. She thought I was industrious and that she had better marry me.

[I asked him again for stories of his biological sisters.] When I was [57] small I didn't play with my sisters; I didn't work in the fields with them. I played only with boys. Melangkai and Lankari came to tell me [58] of many women who wanted me because I worked fast in the garden and was industrious. These women thought, "We would only have to cook in his wake; he could do all the garden work himself." [He continues to repeat general statements of how women wanted to marry him.]

ANALYSIS BY ABRAM KARDINER

In studying this autobiographical account of Mangmu two factors must be taken into account: first, his reaction to the ethnographer, and

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brother to get hit. Atapada got five lashes. Then Senlaka wanted to hit me, but Alurkomau came and stood up for me. [Question revealed that he did not know the exact relationship of Alurkomau, only that he was of the same lineage and that he called him younger uncle. Rilpada was very vague about all his kinship ties because his father had been adopted into the Maughiera lineage.] So Senlaka struck Alurkomau five times. Then Senlaka said, "Next time you can steal from other people but not from me. I am your grandfather [classificatory]. You can take my greens, but if you are hungry and want anything else, ask me first and I'll give it to you. To come at night and take things is stealing. For this I punished you." 159x

Once when I was about sixteen or seventeen, many of the young girls from Dikimpe had a field house in which they were sleeping together. They spoke to the young men, saying, "You men go hunt rats and we will cook bean cones. We will play taout [the name for children's mock feasts]." So we went to hunt rats and the girls cooked bean cones. [113]
We were hunting below Old Dikimpe when a green snake bit the back of [114]
my neck. I felt dizzy and fell down. Blood came out of my nose. Lakamau carried me to the village. The others ate the rats and bean cones while I slept in the house. The girls brought me three coconut dishes of raw beans.

When I was still small, maybe ten years old, many girls were dancing and playing at Fubieng. The boys all went there to join them. The girls said, "Make a dance place." So we all leveled off the ground to make a dance place. The girls said, "Now we must dance for a human head and today we shall pay for it." So we took a dry banana stalk, made a bundle of it, and said it was a human head. We switched it back and forth and the boys and girls all danced challenge and beat it with sticks. Then the girls said, "That is taboo, so go throw it away." So we shouted defiance [malwina] and threw the [mock] head away into the ravine. When we came back the girls said, "Now we shall feed the fellers." They cooked and used banana leaves as serving plates. We ate and then we gave a dance. We danced almost all night. Manifaru, who was chief, came with a switch and drove us away because we were making so much noise he could not hear the case he was judging. He tried to hit us but we all ran away. He set fire to our playhouse. We all went to our own houses to sleep. 159x 157

I was about six or seven when Manikaliera fed his wealth-bringing spirit [nava]. I wanted to go to my garden, which adjoined his. Manikaliera asked me to come eat with him. He said his guests were near. 159x

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in the stone pile. We stopped all the holes with woods, but we got only 139r
two small mice. Then we came to a large hole under a stone. We
cleared away around the place and Lakunau stood guard at the exit.
We heard a noise inside like rats, "Ki, ki, ki." Then we shook the stones
again and we heard a noise, "Tss, tss, tss." We shook it again and
heard a noise like pigs, "Krr, krr, krr." We were afraid. Funkaliets
said, "That's nothing. Rats also are smart and imitate those noises."
Then suddenly a snake came out of the hole. It had a red neck. When
it came out its breath struck Lakunau in the face. He felt dizzy and
fell over. Funkaliets got a club and killed the snake. We opened its
belly and there were twelve rats in it. We roasted cassava in the field
and ate before coming home.

[I asked for personal memories.] When I was about twelve, I, Alofe,
Manikari, Lanwai, Fanalo, and Fanmani went to play at Fuhieng. We 357 ●
made believe we were going on a wild-pig hunt. Fanmani and I dug 524]
two tubers and put them in our baskets. We made a pig rack at our
hunting camp. Then we went to hunt deer, pigs, and cariboo. We went
to a banana clump and if we found a grasshopper we called it wild pig.
We all came and shouted challenge and then put it on the rack. If we
got a kind of beetle, we called it a cariboo. We surrounded it and made
believe we were shooting it. We called the praying mantis a deer.
At midday we ate our tubers. In the afternoon we hunted again. [He
spent a great deal of time going over these details.] In the evening we
roasted our catch and went home. We shouted challenge [*mahoina*]
for each of the insects we had caught.

Once, when the red corn was ripe, Alofe's mother ordered me and
Fanalo to go hunt rats in her garden, because they were eating up all
her corn. We looked in all the stone piles. There were no rats. Then
we saw a runway near a big stone. We caught a grown rat and her
nine babies there. I said, "Now let us take these to our mother [i.e.,
Alofe's mother, classificatory]." But Fanalo said, "No, we shall roast
them here and eat them." I didn't want to, but Fanalo went on collect-
ing wood for a fire. He ordered me to go fetch fire. I didn't want to.
I said, "We ought to take these to our mother. I won't get fire." So
Fanalo hit me. I cried and went off saying I would tell our mother.
Then Fanalo clubbed me on the head, making a wound from which
blood flowed. I went to Fanalo's mother and told her. Fanalo's mother
was angry with him. That night he did not dare come home but went
to sleep in another house.

Once, two days before the Yetok feast, Alurkuma, who was about

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159 tore off the flesh so you could see the bone. [The interpreter shivered at this point.] I cried. I brushed it off. Riemau came to see and I told him that I had brushed the bee off and it must still be near. Riemau saw it in some weeds and shot it. In all we got five bees. Then Riemau helped me up to Lawatiku and I stayed there overnight while the others went home. [Question.] No, I didn't dream of this afterward.

February 13, 1939

When I was about six or seven, I cried because mother said we should go to the garden and I didn't want to. So I stayed home and played with my friends in the village. In the afternoon mother brought me some corn, which I roasted and ate. Then I cried again. I cried a lot. I cried because I wanted to eat with father's guests. Mother and 139 father said I couldn't. The guests, they said, had to eat alone. I kept 574 crying until everyone was through eating. I cried until everyone was 865 asleep. Father woke up and heard me still crying. So father put a 867 basket over my head that reached down to my stomach. Father held me while mother poured water on my head through the basket. I was still crying hard. So mother and father talked nicely to me. They said, "When guests come, you can't eat with them. If you ate with them they wouldn't say anything here, but they would go home and say we didn't bring you up well because we let you eat with guests. We were angry with you for this reason, and for this reason we put a basket over your head and poured water on you." Then father said, "Will you act like this another time?" I was still crying under the basket and did not answer. Then father said, "Answer before I take off the basket." Then I said I wouldn't act like that again. Father said, "Next time guests come you mustn't stay near us but go with your mother." After that I stopped crying.

159 When I was about twelve or thirteen, father and mother went to cut weeds in Peorkaivi. A big rain came. We were all there with my friends. [It is customary to have a group of children help in communal 874 field work.] My friends went on working. I sat under a raincape be- 867 hind the line of workers. Father was working at the end of the line. He came toward me but I did not see him. He snatched off my cape and asked why I was just sitting. He said, "When you grow up you won't be accustomed to work and you will be lazy." He took my hands and rubbed them in the dirt, saying, "Your nails are long. You are lazy." All my nails were ripped and they bled. So I cried and ran away to Aburkowai, to Kolata [his father's first wife]. She said, "Maybe your mother and father have many male children, that they rob your

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159 feng. I don't remember this. My mother and father told me about it when I was older.

[First memory?] I remember that when I was very small my mother carried me to the field with her and I sat behind her playing jacks while she worked.

159 When I was little, not big enough to work in the fields, we played
857 house. The girls made bean cones and the boys hunted rats. It was a house that Padalan [father of the ramukun] had made. Girls and boys played together. [She named five girls and three boys. She had difficulty recalling the boys' names.] Another time we played in a field house. Six of us girls played there. We made a rice cone, but a fight broke out, so we hid it and went to watch the fight. When we came back for our rice
159 cone it was gone. Grown men who were hunting rats had found it and eaten it. We said, "Who took our rice cone?" They said, "We did." So we didn't say anything; we just picked up the dish, fetched corn and vegetables, and went home.

[What was the fight about?] Atshihi's first wife, Hehangmai, was fighting with his second wife, Lonmale. We were still small and so didn't join in.

December 17, 1938

I dreamed night before last that my soul went to Paiyope, where Letmai [a distant relative of her husband] gave me three large bundles of corn, thirteen small bundles, a gong, and a Maningmunk moko. I carried them home. When I reached the ravine my neck was sore [from carrying so much]. When I set the load down on our verandah, my husband said, "Put the corn in the house; set the gong and the moko in the loft."

[787] This dream means that I will get much food this year.

Last night I dreamed my soul went to heaven [she used the Malay word]. I saw people being roasted, people who were in the wrong. The people who were honest sat in one room on chairs [which are associated with Europeans and status]. In another room they were roasting people. They used dry eucalyptus wood. Malemai [a woman who had died a short time before] arrived and was seated on a chair. A man with a sword wanted to kill me. Someone said, "You can't kill her; she has not done wrong." Someone took me by the wrist and threw me down from heaven. I fell in the top of a tall tree; another man took me by the wrist and threw me down into the top of another shorter tree, and so on until I was near the ground. Then I climbed down the tree by myself. The ramukun

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X157 Piki moko to help Lanpada. The women all cooked rice baskets. I took a serving basket of raw rice. The people said, "Pay and be finished with this." So they went to the edge of the village and paid off the gong. The gong was put in Lanpada's house. We were fed at the house of Lanpada's younger brother. Then Likima, I, and my two children, Fuimai and Maugata, went home. I woke up.

X159 787 [Meaning?] We took two gongs and mokos. That is a bad sign. It means the two children will be sick. The buying of a gong was good, but cooking rice baskets was bad. It means someone in Ruikamong will be sick. If Lanpada had sold a gong, his wife would have been sick. Since he bought one, it means that one of the men selling it will be sick.

X159 I dreamed there was a big spate below Manikamong. The water didn't follow its usual course but was flowing alongside the stream bed. Maima, my brother, asked, "Who changed the watercourse here?" Makalamo said, "Arakaliera did it to irrigate his sun corn." Maima and I wanted to fetch water. I said I was afraid of the spate, so Maima said he would fetch the water. The chief, Fanlaka, and he stood in the stream. I said, "Children, a large spate is coming. You mustn't stand there." Fanlaka and the chief said, "Only a small spate is coming, so it is safe." Maima didn't speak. I filled only one tube because I saw the spate coming. Then all four of us returned. We stopped at the verandah of the lineage house, Tilalawai. My older daughter, Fuimai, said, "Mother, where did you get the water?" I told her whence we had fetched it, that the stream had changed its course, and that a spate was coming and therefore I had drawn only one tube. She said, "Put the water here in my house." I did and woke up.

[Entering your daughter's house?] I put water in her house, which means I shall give her a moko as a dowry by and by. [Warning to men?] That is a sign of gongs, mokos, and pigs. I was very afraid of the spate in this dream. [Why is a fear dream a good one? She could give no answer to this.]

X159 ● 857 [She told the following with much enjoyment, laughing heartily at herself.] We went to cut weeds but played instead. There was a new rat-run, in which we caught a rat. Then we made a round pile of stones like a dance-place altar. We roasted the rat there and divined. Then Kolpada I said, "Tilapada is my husband. She catches rats and gives them to me." Kolang [female] said, "Maringlang [female] is my husband." Then Kolpada II said, "Tilafing [female] is my husband and will fetch rats for me." Lorenai was angry with Kolpada I and said,

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"Tikopia is my husband." Kolpada I told her to get another husband. The two fought. Then the "wives" said, "Men, come pile the stones [men's work]!" I called to the other "men" to help me while our "wives" cooked sweet potatoes for us. We shot another rat. Kolpada I said, "My husband has just shot a pig. He comes carrying it. He is a rich man. If your husbands are so big, tell them to fetch pigs. If they don't, I am the only one with a rich husband." [At this point the informant and the interpreter were laughing so hard they were scarcely coherent.] The other wives said, "Your husband is a rich man because he fetches pigs; let us eat them. We shall cook rice baskets." So we roasted the rat, and the wives mashed potatoes and made imitation rice baskets. We used fat stones as serving dishes. I divided the meat. Then I said, "I am a man, so I don't eat of my feet."

[She interrupted herself to say that she had told her friends about her recounting their play activities. They had laughed heartily together. Her friends had said that they would all curse themselves to me. They had said, "If you use our names our legs will tickle." This was considered a sign that somebody was talking about one.]

Then we said we should dance. Kolpada I said, "My rich husband must begin the dance." So I began the dance. The men all joined me and the wives joined their husbands, putting their arms around them. Two of the other wives danced with me and Kolpada I said, "You are taking my husband. Maybe you have already chewed betel with him [a euphemism for sexual intimacy]." They fought, so I hit them with a rattan switch. After this Kolpada I cooked a large sweet potato for me. Lomosi cooked me only half a one. Kolpada I said, "You are not cooking good food for our husband." Then Kolpada I fought with Lomosi. I said, "Don't fight." Kolpada I said, "We are fighting and our husband is angry with us. We had better stop." Then Kolpada II said, "You are rich and have two wives. They are always fighting. We have only one and have a bit more quiet." Then my two wives cooked for me. The other men said, "Why don't you call us to eat with you?" So I called them to come eat with me. The men ate together in one place and the wives ate together in another.

All this was in one day of play. We had gone to cut weeds, but we didn't work; we just played. Then we decided to cut some weeds. We said, "Each wife must work with her husband." So the husbands and wives worked close to each other. My two wives worked on either side of me. One had stones in her basket and she gave it to me. I split it and divided it. Then Meringlong was angry with Kolong. She said, "My

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V 159 wife is poor. She has nothing. Tikpada's wives give her something." So
● 157 Kolang gave Maisinglang some seeds she had in her basket. Then Kol-
pada I said, "If you get rats, give them to your wives." So I caught a
[142] grasshopper (which children roast and eat) and I gave it to her. Kol-
pada I said, "I don't eat rats, so give this to your second wife." Then
Maisinglang said, "You are a man who knows how to catch rats. If you
get any, give them to my wife." The next time I caught a grasshopper
I gave it to Maisinglang, who gave it to her wife.

[The informant had to be stopped at this point. The behavior in this account was patterned closely on adult behavior between the sexes.]

December 21, 1938

S 154 I dreamed that Lopada called twelve people to come to her garden to cut weeds for a wage of ten cents. I went too. Fulpada said she was going to pick red peppers first, so I said I would join her. We didn't pick them one by one but broke off a whole plant. People called us to come. We answered that we had broken off a whole pepper plant and were coming. Lopada asked how many were working and I answered twelve. Lopada invited us to eat. After eating we worked until sundown and then went home. We passed a jack-fruit tree and I climbed it to get a fruit. Helanglang said she wanted one too, so I picked one for her. Helangiang's corn was ripe. She said she was going to look at it, so I left her and went on home. When I reached my verandah I awoke.

V 159 [Picking red peppers?] This means someone will get a cough. [Who
787 will cough?] I'll probably be the one, since I dreamed of it. [Climbing the jack-fruit tree?] That means that I shall get sores. A party of men have gone off to hunt pigs and they will probably get some. [Ripe corn?] This means someone will die, someone belonging to Helangiang. [People working?] This means that rats will eat up Lopada's corn.

A 159 I dreamed that the mother and the father of the nanya came here. All the people took gongs and snakes and went out to meet them. The gongs made no noise. I could not hear their voices. Maisna said, "Give me my dress comb." I took my dance anklets and carried them in my hands. We did not dance at the foot of the hill, instead the nanya's persons came here to this house. All the people went to carry cement to build a house here; everyone hunted wood, bamboo, and stones. A new cement floor was made near the kitchen building. Many people came from the government camp carrying cement. The cement craftsman came and said to me, "When I was here before, you gave me

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a pig she owes Kafekelesi is still unpaid." [Young Tilapuda was married to Kafekelesi and then divorced him.] I only said, "Yes." By that time I could walk and I went on to the mango tree. It was very high. Then it sank into the ground until the branches touched the earth. I had to step over them. As I came to the village, I met Maima [her brother]. I said to him, "Maliemi said you fought with clubs. Why did you fight with clubs?" Maima said, "It was not with clubs; it was just with fists. He wanted to drag off Tilapuda [the niece]." Then I said, "Why does that girl always come back here? She should stay in her husband's village. If she comes here all the time, people will seize her [for unsettled debts]." Then Maima said, "The child wants to go back to her husband's village [her second husband's village]. I am on my way to the house. I am taking this child back to her village." I went on past the caretaker's house and he said, "You went to Dikiape and we had a big fight while you were away." I said, "If people fight behind my back, that is good. But when they fight in front of me, I am afraid of being involved in a litigation." Then I went on to Faimei's house.

[Crawling?] I must have been sleeping with bent legs. [The mango tree?] This means Maliemi is wrong. [Meaning of the whole dream?] If Tilapuda had actually gone, it would mean she would get sick and die. But in the dream we only talked of her going, so she won't get sick.

[I asked about her younger siblings. She told about following her mother to the fields in midmorning, carrying Maliema with Kafelisi following.] On the way Maliema cried a lot, so I put her down and dipped her. Then I talked nicely to her, and we went on when she was quiet. I took leaves and showed her how to make a grasshopper house. [35 7] Then we caught a grasshopper and put it in the house and shut the door. When we opened the door, the grasshopper crawled forward. I said, "Oh, your chicken is coming." When we went home that afternoon, we played on the dance place and I made a small house like a real one. [Here Tilapuda went into the details of house building, fears, and dances. It seemed that she enjoyed dwelling on the whole episode.]

When Maliema was a little older, she would cry to go to the fields with me. If I were not angry with her, I would take her along to dig sweet potatoes. I would give her the big ones and keep the small ones. Then we would go together to wash them and I would wash hers for her. [Why were you angry?] Because she was always crying. She cried to go places, she cried to be fed. I hit her on the head with my

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[159] knuckles, and then I would feed her. [*Why did she cry?*] She cried because she was hungry. [This and the departure of the mother are stock explanations for children's crying.] Once we went to dig tubers with mother. Malienu cried, so I carried her home, hurried to light a fire, cooked, and fed her.

Once when mother and father were both gone, I cooked sweet potatoes in one pot and vegetables in another and set them aside for them. When the family came home their food was ready. I was just beginning to cook then. I was eight or ten. If mother did not leave food, she would tell me to dig tubers. This I would do, and then I would prepare food for the family. At this age I was doing cooperative work in [157] the fields with my playmates, but I always took Malienu along and she played behind us in the fields. One day it was raining hard, so we decided to stay home and play all day. Then in a year we were big [actually about ten or twelve].

[Were you glad to grow up?] We used to say, "Now we are grown up and we have much work to do. It would be better if we were always children. When we were still small, we played like that [*referring to six-year-olds*]." [172] When I was about thirteen or fourteen [*probably younger*] the young men all used to say they would buy me. Fasiang said once, "This girl had better come to stay in our house." I asked him if he had a bride-price, and he answered that they had to make a feast, [154 594] after which I had better marry his "father," Likma. Then Fasiang asked me to inquire whether Maisinglang wanted to marry him. I went to speak to Maisinglang, and she said, "Good, that is fine. We shall live all in one house." At this time Likma had already asked Fasiang to act as his go-between. Fasiang and Likma lived in one house. Maisinglang and I were friends. At this time I was still small and had not slept with any man. There has been only Likma. When father fed his sacred hearth, Likma brought a pig, and within the month I went to stay in his house. Fasiang also married Maisinglang, but later they were divorced.

[157] [Can you remember the first quarrel with your husband?] Likma and Helangmui's husband went off to Ata Kesesma for a debt. There was a dance at Rasiksang, and our husbands did not want to go. I and Helangmui went. The next morning our husbands came home and found us asleep on the verandah. They hit us because we had thus secretly gone off to the dance. They were angry that we had gone without asking them. [It was proper for a wife to have her husband's permission [547 562] before going to a dance.]

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[154] again. It was still there. So we hid until the rain stopped, and then we saw it was only a tree and went back to our mother. [Question.] We were about ten and fourteen at the time.

In a few days we went back to get greens. Kawaimuni said, "Oh, that man is still standing there. If we go he will shoot us." So I ran away crying and Kawaimuni followed. We went to mother. Mother came and looked and said, "Oh, that is just a dead stump; don't be afraid." So we went to fetch the greens.

One day we played in the ravine, I and Fuifuni [now married and living in the Kafoi area]. We wanted to get crayfish near Padavi. When we got down there we saw Karmau [the son of Padamai of Foiafeng, who later left the village because of adultery charges and had been in Pantar for six years] and Maugfani [deceased]. We took off our loin-
[155] cloths, both the boys and the girls [very immodest behavior], and put on banana leaves and played in the water together. I was about ten or eleven. The boys made believe that a banana trunk was a boat. Then they went in the water again. They went under the water and pulled open their mouths and their eyes and looked up at us. We said, "Oh, a
[156] cat sleeps in the water." [This is a game in which the thumbs are put into the corners of the mouth, pulling it up into a grin, and the corners of the eyes are held down with the index fingers. The grimace is further distorted by the water, and the human being is then thought to resemble a cat.] We played together until evening; then I and Fuifuni went back to Raugfui, and the boys went back to Padavi.

After that we went every morning to the ravine to play, and in the evening we came home. Finally Maninmi said we must return to live in the village [Atimeleng], so we did. [I asked whether this was a chaperonage move. She said no, that came long afterward, when she was about fourteen. The move had nothing to do with her playing with boys in the ravine.]

When we lived in the village, Maninmi said our lineage house was making us sick and we would have to feed it and make a new roof on the shed where the posts were stored. The pig of a Lawatika man came and rooted up our garden, so Maninmi shot it. He said we should use it to feed the lineage house and then we would all move down here to the level ground [the present site of Atimeleng, which was established at government order].

When we moved down, Padamai [the son of Talkaliera] made a house and we lived there with him. It was tax time and Padamai hadn't paid his. Maninmi was chief then, and he came to the house and took all our corn and rice to pay for the taxes. We cried, but he didn't give

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it back. We were hungry after that. I, mother, and Kawtimani went to the fields and built ourselves a small house in order to guard our corn. Every morning we would go out and find that people had come at night and stolen it. We cried, but people went right on stealing it. We had to eat very young ears, husks and all. Manimai didn't sleep at night. He would just watch the field. He would call, saying, "Children, are people stealing your corn? Every morning we see that people have come and stolen corn. Every morning we cry, but people have no pity and steal anyhow." [This public announcement was to produce shame in the thief, but care was taken to make accusations anonymous.]

[The accounts in this whole session were given in a serious, expressionless monotone. The only emotional expression was laughter over Falepangani's mistakes. This was definitely the story of a person of little standing in the group and was told without effort to conceal the fact.]

March 12, 1939

[I asked whether she had dreamed last night and she told the following.] You were about to return to your country, and all the women wept. So you said, "I shall come back in two months; I am going for only two months." All the women said, "Oh, you are only lying to us. You had better stay here." Then you went away. [I doubt that this dream is authentic.]

When I was about fourteen, I and Kolata played together a lot, and whenever we were hungry we came back to the house to eat. We played and ate, played and ate. The two of us lived in a garden house, just the two of us. We slept there. At night we were afraid and slept through [i.e., did not get up to cook and talk as is usual]. One night someone must have come to our house while we slept. They ate up the corn that we had prepared and left in the pot. They put back the husks and covered the pot. We didn't know who. This went on night after night, and we were afraid. So we decided to sleep in the loft and take the pot of food up with us. In the morning we came down to eat in the main room.

Once Kolata and I went to play at Falingfokung. Djetmani came along beating a piece of metal. He said, "This is a moko for the bride-price of the two of you. I am going to buy you both. Tonight come to my house and cook for me and I shall eat." We were angry and told our parents. Our mothers were angry with him and said he could not play with us any more. But Djetmani came back to play with us anyhow, and our parents were angry and said we could not play with

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boys, just with other girls. So we stayed near our field house and played.

Once I and Falepangmai, Kolata, Kolmau, and Sinalang all played together at Fuida. There were no boys. We ourselves built a field house there. We played all day, but if our mothers called us in the evening, we went home to sleep. If we were not called, we spent the night there. Kolmau said, "I am the chief of the women. I am going to buy an Ainala moko." She broke off a kemeng fruit and stuck it in her hair [as a plume] and danced challenge. We beat bamboos and said they were mokos to help with the purchase of the Ainala. We split sweet potatoes and laid them on leaves, which we used for dishes. We said that part were for the chief and part for the people who helped beat the gongs. When we were hungry we ate. In the evening we decided to sleep there.

The four others were bigger than I. They made bows and arrows and said they were going to hunt wild pigs in Sinalang's garden. They gave me a bow and arrows and I followed along. In the field they shot grasshoppers and put them in their baskets. Then we carried them back to our house at Fuida and cooked them. That evening we slept there. Then the next day Sinalang said, "Let us go back to my garden. There are many wild pigs there." So we went back and shot grasshoppers. Our small baskets were full and we hung them on a tree. Then the tumukun and Alurkomai came along. They wanted to play with us. The tumukun already wished for Falepangmai, and Alurkomai wanted Kolmau. The tumukun asked who had made our bows and arrows, and we said we had. Then the two boys said, "Oh, we had better make them for you. We are your husbands and we shall make them." So they made some and gave them to us, and we went to shoot grasshoppers. The two men stayed behind and hunted rats. They got four. They put them in our baskets, which hung on the tree. Then they roasted sweet potatoes there where our baskets were hanging. The two boys said they had given the rats to us to eat. So all of us went back to Fuida. We girls cooked and the boys roasted rats. We cooked the grasshoppers too. We played until evening and then went back to our village. In the morning we went back to play. This went on day after day. Then Manimai came and spoke to us. He said we shouldn't play with boys. "If you play together, the boys will desire you and you will desire the boys, and they will sleep with you." But we said, "Those are not our husbands; they are our brothers."

[Here the informant said she had finished the story of her life. I

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x159 When we were still small, I, Fuifani, and Kolata went off to play to-
● 857 gether. Fuilang was living with Johanis' mother in a field house, and we went there to play. Fuilang said she was a man. Fuifani said she was Fuilang's wife. I and Kolata said, "No, we two are married to him. He is our husband, and you can't marry him." We fought with Fuifani. We said she couldn't marry him. Fuilang said, "If you three are happy together I can marry all three, but if you fight I shall marry only one." I and Kolata said, "Fuifani can't marry you." Then we pushed and fought with Fuifani. We fought and fought in play until we were hungry. Then we dug sweet potatoes and went into the field house and roasted them. After eating we went back out to play the same game and went on fighting until evening. Then we went back to the village. The next day we played the same game. On the day after that Fuilang came to play with us. We played at making a death feast. There were four of us, so we said each one should have a feast in turn for four successive days. We said we would have to finish the feasts before playing at something else. [Note that Lomani had given no account of her own aggressions yet and when solicited she told a play anecdote. I asked for the first angry quarrel she remembered.]

x159 My eldest sister, Lonpada, and I fought over a carrying basket. She took my basket and went to Alurkowati and didn't bring it back. I had stayed home to take care of her child. We fought with words and fists. After that I didn't take care of her child any more. I said, "You have thrown away my basket and now I won't care for your child any more." Then Lonpada made me a new basket, and about a week later she brought it to me and spoke nicely, saying, "Now I have made you a new basket, so you can come and care for your child." [Question.] I was about fourteen then.

[I suggested that she must have fought before this.] When I was still small, I fought with Tilamale. Tilamale said I was her elder sibling. I said, "I am not your elder sibling. You have a younger sibling and I have not, so how can I be your elder?" We fought about it until I ripped open Tilamale's loincloth in back. Tilamale's father came with a stick, and I was afraid he might kill me, so I ran to Manimai's house. I thought, "If he follows me, those two killers [*liki*, the title of a man who has killed a person] can fight together." [Question.] I was about eight or ten at the time. I wanted to go home that night, but Manimai said, "You have already opened someone's loincloth. If you go down this evening, someone might shoot you. You had better sleep here and go down to your mother tomorrow." So I did. When I went down the

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People cooked
[354] mango pits and soaked them for three days, then we ate them pounded
[355] up or whole. We took banana stalks and roots and mixed them with mango seeds to make the death feasts. One time Fanlang and Lampada went to buy sweet potatoes, cassava, and corn at Fulfoka near Kelaisi. They took knife blades, necklaces, and anklets with them to buy food. They bought the whole cassava plant—leaves, stalk, and roots. For a knife blade they got only two or three cents' worth of corn or cassava. For a big necklace they got just ten small ears of corn. Many people had to share just a little corn mixed with many greens. When the men came home, they said, "Now we are hungry, and there are many people sick because of it. Save seeds and plant the cassava stalks." We cut the cassava stalks and the sweet potatoes into small pieces for planting. We
[561] planted cassava stalks and sweet potatoes, and as soon as they were large enough we cut more shoots for planting. We kept planting corn too until there was much of all foods and people were filled up again.

[I asked how she herself reacted to this.] During this time mother wanted to cut weeds at Raugfui. Before she left she cooked some corn and put it in a basket for me. She said that she and Kawaimani were going to cut weeds and that I must stay behind. I said, "I had better go too because people will come and deceive me and eat my corn." But mother said, "Oh, if people come and deceive you, your father [Manimai, really her uncle] is a killer and he will come and kill them. You stay. Kawaimani and I will go cut the weeds." When mother left, all my playmates came to play with me. [Question. She was staying at the time with Manimai and his large family. Although the family with
[574-576] whom she was staying would have fed her, her mother said it was proper during a hungry time, or at any other time, to leave food for a child with the host's family.] While we played, we talked of the cat's coming. [Here she repeated the children's story of the cat's coming
[557-538] nearer and nearer. She gave all the place names from Likuwutang to Atimelang until the cat entered the house and the children screamed. This was a favorite scare story for children. Lomani had heard it first from her mother, but this time the story was being told by Marata, an older girl. Question.] I was not really afraid of the story; I just pretended to be frightened.

[I asked whether she remembered being very sick. This was an attempt to get the story of her badly scarred mouth.]

When I was small I wasn't sick. I got sick after I married, when my husband was already dead and my child was still small. I wanted to come back here, but my mother-in-law said, "No. I am your mother

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on have greater responsibilities than others in the number they must provide for and are therefore more pressed by field work. On the other hand some women may have given birth during the middle of the dry season when labor in the fields is slack. Still others may be lazy about gardening. As a result some infants receive more care and food during the first months of life. If an infant is left in the hands of a father or sibling, it is going to be fairly hungry part of that time. The person caring for the child may give it gruel or premasticated food more or less conscientiously, but to judge from the frequency with which infants spew out such nourishment, one may suggest that such feeding is not very effective or satisfactory. One repeatedly sees infants trying to nurse at the breast of a father or immature sibling only to be pushed away with an attitude of mild embarrassment.

Ritpoh told an anecdote of his childhood which reveals both the frustration infants may suffer from this type of feeding as well as the older sibling's frequent resentment of the role of nurse maid.

> Once mother and I were living in a field house near our gardens. She told me to carry Seremani [younger brother] while she worked. At noon he was hungry and wanted to nurse. I gave him food but he only vomited it. He cried and cried and wouldn't stop. I cried too. Finally I went and told mother to come and nurse him but she wouldn't. So I took Seremani, laid him down on a mat in the house and ran off to Pelefeng. There from the ridge I shouted, "Mother, your child lies in the house. If you want to care for it, good. If you don't want to, that is also good. I am going to Atimelang to play."

The point to be made is that even during infancy, when children are quite generally delighted-in, and when they are rarely out of someone's arms, or at least someone's carrying shawl, gratification of hunger is frequently a disappointing experience. Feeding is irregular; intervals between nursing are so long that acute hunger may arise with either no means of gratifying it or gratification is offered in foods obviously less satisfactory than that which the mother offers. When the mother is home and not too busy, she will offer the child the breast whenever it is restless. However, I never heard any woman speak of the pleasure of nursing, which probably means no more than that the culture has not maintained this particular physical pleasure. Women, when asked, did generally say that they preferred child bearing to intercourse but almost invariably added, "Because children will give my funeral feasts." There were several women who said that they did not wish any more children because feeding them meant so much work. Economic organization, therefore, acts directly upon attitudes toward children and conditions the child's earliest experiences in respect to food in this society.

In Atimelang, therefore, the hunger tension of infancy is not maximally met as in some societies where children are constantly in contact with their mothers and where the pattern of nursing is a consciously fostered gratification of both mother and child.

A still more serious feeding problem may arise when the child begins to walk, approximately between the thirteenth and eighteenth months. By the time it can manage to get about alone, it is left to play near the house or on the dance place in the center of the village.

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An older sibling, cousin or classificatory, or an old woman may borrow and will care for a whole group of children in a desultory fashion but no one is responsible for feeding the child and no one is greatly inconvenienced by his crying. When the mother goes off to work, the child is left from [illegible] about eight in the morning until five in the afternoon without regular provision of food. This does not mean that he is left entirely without food, but that all he gets during that time may be odd bits an older child makes more or less willingly and grudgingly to him when he begs for it. Again, of course, there is marked variation in children's experiences during this period. They may have a solicitous older sister who can be spared from field work and who will provide relatively good care. There may be a grandmother who works less hard and frequently in the garden. But, in any case, after the child learns to walk, his frustrations with respect to hunger are increased, and simultaneously he loses the convenient handling and support he had during the first stage of life in the carrying shawl. That the acquisition of his first skill in the independent mastery of the outer world, i.e. walking, should be associated with two severe deprivations may well have larger personality repercussions in the realm of ego development than there is space to consider in this paper.

To add to the strain of this period and to reinforce it further, the weaning of the child may be hastened at this time because another sibling is expected. Rarely does one see a child of three or four still nursing. Although weaning is done simply by pushing the child away gently or placing the breast beyond its reach, there is no doubt that difficulties accumulate at this early stage of development. Anal training, walking, and talking have not yet been deliberately instituted. They are allowed to take their own course. In other words, the child has acquired few skills during the first two or three years of life. Those which he has acquired have been by means of restrictive or obsessive disciplines. It is not surprising that this is the time par excellence of temper tantrums. These continue, as might be expected, with marked individual variation up to the age of five to eight. Adult reactions to children's tantrums are characterized by great inconsistency. One day a mother will ignore the child; the next she may be incensed and strike it; on still another occasion she may deceive it into thinking she is not deserting it, only to slip away when the child has been diverted; or on still other occasions, especially at night, the child may be threatened with the local bogy-man who, incidentally, is not a very fearsome figure. In addition then to their inconsistency, all active disciplines are of the restrictive type. I have never seen a mother promise a child a reward for being good and then keep her promise.

A clear example of the needs of early childhood and the uncertainties of the persons on whom the child depends for its gratifications is found in a series of statements contained in Tilapuda's autobiography. She tells of caring for a younger sister called Malewasi.

> On the way [to the fields] Malewasi cried a lot, so I put her down and stopped her. Then I talked softly to her and we went on when she was quiet. . . . When Malewasi was a little older, she would cry to go to the fields with me. If I were not angry with her, I would take her along with me to dig sweet potatoes. I would give her the big ones and keep the small ones. She was always crying, she cried to be fed; she cried to go places. I hit her on the head with my knuckles and then I would feed her. She cried because she was hungry.

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155 The inconsistent and coercive quality of discipline which pervades the child's life might well be expected to breed in it a sense of insecurity and suspicion and distrust. It has at its disposal only one weapon with which to meet frustration and that is rage. The alternative idea of being good in order to gain one's ends is not presented to the child. But that rage is an ineffectual weapon is learned at very latest during the first decade of life.

155 While the child is discovering the futility of protest, he is also discovering his own resources. He may expect his mother to prepare a morning meal at about seven o'clock and another at about the same time in the evening. During the intervening twelve hours he learns to forage for himself. He learns this from five or six onward in the child play groups of free roving children. Remnants may be scraped from the cooking pot. A variety of insects usually spurned by adults can be found. In the fields near the village are mangoes, bananas, sweet potatoes, young corn, and squash. They can be eaten raw or easily cooked. As a rule adults do not object to the minor depredations of their own children or their playmates, but if the raiding is too constant or if the crop is scarce, children may be scolded for it. Such objections are most apt to be voiced when children are reaching the age at which their labor might be expected and is not forthcoming. There are several anecdotes of reproaches on this score, and in one instance a mother and half-grown son came to blows over the matter. But an additional factor in adult objections to children using garden crops too freely is that it may actually disrupt friendships between age-mates. Mungwa, in his autobiography, gives several such anecdotes, one of which is quoted below.

Mutimule said, "Let us go to the fields to dig sweet potatoes." My mother and father were away and I was hungry. For a month we played together going every day to dig sweet potatoes. But his mother was angry because we went to her garden to dig them. So after that first day we always went to my garden to dig them. Then my potatoes were finished. I was angry because we always went to my garden. I said to him, "You have lots of potatoes but we only went once to your garden and your mother was angry. Now you have many and you can't come to dig mine any more." I splashed water on him. Mutimule said we would not play together any more.

Parental objections also pave the way for the thieving in which play groups of boys frequently indulge. The whole system of feeding reinforces one of the marked interculturals tensions centering on theft and fear of theft.

155 During this preadolescent play period boys may get occasional meals as guests. When an adult man visits a house in which a woman is at home, it is customary to set a calabash of food before him and any little boys who are about are invited to join him. Little boys very soon learn to attach themselves to any man who seems to be setting out on a "business" trip and in this way undoubtedly learn a great deal of the role expected of them as adults. Hunger is a motivation which leads to the acquisition of adult male skills. Little girls are not fed on these occasions, except rarely when they pick up a bit of food on the side while it is being prepared. There are still other sources of food available to small boys. During feasts those who help with the butchering are given the entrails or other less desirable bits of the pig to roast on the spot. Rat hunting, in which several boys assist a grown man or two, is another

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source of food. The rats are often roasted on the spot, and the children are given the bellies, entrails, and other less choice portions of the kill. In any event the day's food is so precariously and inconsistently procured as discipline is administered. Further, the food secured is the low choice kind which may, in conjunction with many other attitudes, help to produce in the child, the feeling of being undervalued.

As compared with this free play group period for boys, there is a slightly different adjustment for girls. Their play period is neither so long nor so free. They are more closely attached to their mothers, have more rigorous training in their adult role as providers for the family. They go out to work in the fields with their mothers and have therefor more regular access to food. I know of no cases in which little girls have been accused of pilfering from gardens, whereas such charges give rise to frequent if minor frictions with boys. On the other hand a girl does not have the great privilege of the small boy. She gets no tidbits during butchering unless an unusually indulgent and thoughtful male kin happens to notice her on the edge of the group and gives her a bit of meat. Similarly, the meat at feasts is always distributed to the women but only in terms of the males in their household. That is, women get meat for their husbands and sons, but not for themselves or their daughters. Since food is taken home and eaten there, the women naturally get a share, but only as dependents of men. Also, since meat is eaten only in connection with a feast and is definitely a "treat," it becomes set in the children's minds as a symbol of masculine prestige. This coincides with theories of property which grant men the ownership of all flesh food as opposed to women who own the vegetable foods. The system of meat distribution at feasts helps to reinforce early in life and on a very basic level the role of masculine prestige in the culture. It is not that men are the providers; in fact they are quite the contrary. They are the ones provided for; yet they are the purveyors of a delicacy.

The girl, then is set during the preadolescent years in the essential and intimate relationship to the food cycle which she will follow all her life. Further, she has more systematic and deliberate training than boys in the role of adult existence. There is no sharp break in her life except the change of residence at marriage. It is significant that only after marriage is she allowed to make, independently of her mother, a food contribution to a feast. Public food contributions are the symbol of female adulthood.

Boys find themselves undervalued in comparison to men. Girls are valued in much the same terms as the adult women. Their role will always be somewhat underprivileged, but at least they do not experience the same marked discrepancy between childhood and the adult role expected of them as the boys do. The adolescent boy has a sudden adjustment to make and there are no rites, no initiation ceremonies to help him. His change is not institutionalized or dramatized, and certainly he gets no direct education in it. At about fifteen he begins to ponder the purchase of a wife and that means entering upon the whole complex financial game which is the man's chief labor and heroic occupation. In the course of a few months he drifts away from the play groups, becomes a much more solitary figure, and interestingly enough often insists at this time on a midday meal, even if he must cook for himself.

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BRAIDING BETRAUD, A SMALL BOY'S REWARD FOR ASSISTANCE IN BUTCHERING. THE MEAT FOR THE FEAST IS BEING BOILED IN THE POT

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A LITTLE GIRL LEADING HER ADULT TASK AS WATER CARRIER

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